

cause to enact policies empowering victims. In my estimation, the accused should see their victim's face in a court of law and know they scarred a life forever. I believe this legislation drafted on a bipartisan basis will entitle victims of crime their overdue rights and merits widespread support.

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

• Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I rise today as a supporter and cosponsor of Senator BYRD's sense-of-the-Senate resolution, Senate Resolution 98, regarding ratification of any international agreement on greenhouse gas emissions under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Back in 1992, the United States and the rest of the world agreed to work, on a voluntary basis, to reduce greenhouse gas emissions which scientists believed could affect climate and sea levels over the next century. Unfortunately, this agreement, aimed at returning greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels, has failed.

Now, the administration is negotiating an agreement aimed at meeting this 1990 level. Instead of requiring countries, all countries—developed, developing, and underdeveloped—to agree on voluntary efforts, these negotiations are focused on making the 1990 level mandatory for only developed countries. In short, it will increase the burden of compliance on the United States and other developed countries, while doing nothing to ensure that developing countries meet these targets.

Yes, the United States and other developed countries are responsible for the bulk of these emissions but that will not always be the case. Many developing countries, such as China, Mexico, India, and Brazil, are on course to surpass United States emissions. It makes no sense to give these countries a pass. I am not saying the United States should not do its fair share, we should. My concern is that the agreement is shortsighted. Failing to include these developing countries does nothing to head off the emission problems which they will soon face.

In addition, I have a long record of defending the American worker and American industry from unfair business and trade practices overseas—many of which occur in these developing countries. My fear is that failing to include developing nations in this agreement will undermine America's ability to compete internationally and will only work to force American industry overseas to these developing areas. America has the strongest economy in the world. I want to ensure it remains that way. Placing the burden of reducing greenhouse gas emissions only on developed countries and ignoring developing countries will do nothing to secure economic stability.

In short, this resolution calls for the United States to refuse to sign any agreement unless the developing countries are included in a legally binding

regime of emission control measures. It is an effort to ensure that all countries are placed on a level playing field.

With regard to my record on environmental issues, there have been some who have asked if my support of Senate Resolution 98 undermines my long record of supporting efforts to clean and protect our environment. Let me say now, it does not. In my opinion, this resolution will strengthen efforts to reduce worldwide greenhouse gas emissions by ensuring that all countries meet the same standards.

In closing, I submit for the RECORD the authoritative and expert opinion of Dr. James B. Edwards, the former Secretary of Energy, and encourage my colleagues to read his opinions on this matter.

The material follows:

POURING GAS REDUCTIONS DOWN DRAIN

If a new climate treaty to include binding restrictions on the emission of greenhouse gases is a bad idea—and it is—then the immediate consequence of such a move is even worse: that a tax is imposed on U.S. industries that burn oil, gas and coal. The cost would ultimately fall on American consumers—without necessarily providing benefits to anyone if other countries continue to pollute.

The logical conclusion should be: Don't make the first blunder so you are not forced into making the even worse second blunder. But in just seven months an agreement on a new climate treaty could be a done deal. If government commitments made at the latest round of negotiations in Europe are any indication, there could be a treaty in place by December. There is just one problem: U.S. ratification is going to take a two-thirds vote of the Senate eventually.

In the view of climatologists as esteemed as Patrick Michaels of the University of Virginia, an expert on computer simulations of the climate, and the University of Alabama's John Christy, it will take decades before scientists gain a comprehensive understanding of how greenhouse gas emissions affect the earth's climate. One thing scientists do know is that the concentration of greenhouse gases is building up slowly—less than 0.5 percent annually for carbon dioxide—and that gives us time to implement effective mitigation measures.

Unfortunately, the proposed treaty places binding commitments on industrial nations but none on developing countries. Even such economic powerhouses as China, Korea, and Indonesia would be let off the hook, while the United States would be required to cut greenhouse-gas emissions 15 to 20 percent by 2010 or soon thereafter. Such self-imposed restrictions could backfire.

Simply put, the danger is that developing countries will have no incentive to reduce emissions. Their output would overwhelm reductions made by industrial nations—just the opposite of what a new treaty is supposed to achieve. In fact, developing countries, as a group, are expected to produce the majority of greenhouse emissions in future years.

According to a report by the U.S. Department of Energy, efforts to restrict fossil fuel emissions with a carbon tax would do serious damage to our economy. The hardest hit would be energy-intensive industries, especially petroleum refining, chemicals, automobile manufacturing, paper products, iron and steel, aluminum and cement. These large industries would be at a disadvantage in the world marketplace, and the cost in dollars, as well as in lost jobs, would be staggering.

The most responsible economic estimates of the cost to cap carbon dioxide emissions

at 1990 levels by the year 2010 or soon thereafter range from \$250 billion to \$300 billion per year—an amount that would reduce the U.S. gross domestic product by about 4 percent. For comparison, that's nearly equal to what was spent last year on Social Security.

This is not to suggest that the United States should do nothing about reducing greenhouse-gas emissions. When major industrialized countries meet in Denver in late June at the "Group of Seven" economic summit, climate change will be on the agenda. Efforts should be directed toward establishing a flexible route that could achieve the same long-term benefits but at far lower cost. For example, spreading the responsibility globally, possibly through an emissions trading system involving developing countries, would lower the cost substantially.

Under an emissions trading system, any country exceeding its allotment of greenhouse emissions, pays a regulatory fine. The significant differences between this plan and a carbon tax are that technological innovation, market mechanisms and total global emissions are the defining characteristics of this alternative approach to reducing greenhouse emissions.

Major efforts should be directed at exporting advanced power systems to developing countries such as China and India so that they can begin to stabilize their emissions, without depriving them of an opportunity for economic growth. After all, as its share of industrial output rises, China is expected to become the world's largest source of carbon dioxide, emitting nearly double the amount the United States emits and more than triple what Western Europe produces.

It's very simple: Before we hobble our economy and our society with costly new regulations and taxes we should ask ourselves whether the hoped-for benefits justify the cost to our economy and whether there is a better alternative. And environmentalists ought to keep another perspective mind: For any global emissions reduction program to succeed, all nations must participate.●

HANS A. BETHE

• Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, the great Nobel physicist, Hans A. Bethe, is the subject of the lead article in the "Science Times" section of the New York Times. One cannot help but marvel at the life Dr. Bethe, a national treasure, has led. In 1935, he fled Nazi Germany, settling at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. Within three years, he developed an equation to explain solar fusion which won him a Nobel prize in 1967.

Hans Bethe led the Theoretical Division at Los Alamos; he was, one could say, present at the creation. He stood next to J. Robert Oppenheimer on July 16, 1945 in the New Mexico desert, a witness to the testing of the first atomic bomb. The scientists at the site knew that if the test worked it would end World War II, as it did within a month, and forever change the nature of warfare.

At the moment of that explosion, a new era began. It changed us. Changed the world, and changed all those present. Maurice M. Shapiro, now chief scientist emeritus of the Laboratory for Cosmic Physics at the Naval Research Station, in Washington, recalled the scene in the New Mexico desert in an interview two years ago: